The Southern PATRIOT

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MEETING IN RICHMOND JANUARY 27 OF PLANNING COMMITTEE FOR SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE ON SCHOOL INTEGRATION

HOUSTON NEXT SITE, AS SOUTH RALLIES

Next rallying point: Houston, Texas, on May 17.

The proposed Southwide Conference on Compliance with the Supreme Court Decision on Segregation in Public Schools is a growing, impressive thing.

Centers of support have already been established among professional, religious, and civic groups in the Deep South, by a meeting in New Orleans, in the middle South, with an Atlanta session, and most recently, on January 25, in the Southeast, with a meeting in Richmond, Virginia.

The Richmond gathering drew some 80 persons—from as far away as Miami and Tulsa. A highlight of the meeting was first-hand reports from Delaware where intergration is taking place in the public schools. Speakers were Mrs. Charlotte L. Hanson, psychiatric social worker from Newark; Mrs. Pauline Dyson, elementary school teacher from Claymont, and Donald Stephens of Arden.

A letter (reprinted elsewhere in this issue) from H. E. Stahl, superintendent of schools in Claymont, was also read.

Besides deciding on the Houston date, the participants voted to hold the Southwide Conference in Atlanta in the fall. The exact date and details of the program were left in the hands of the coordinator and the executive committee, which was also elected at the meeting. The Right Reverend Edgar A. Love, Bishop of the Baltimore area of the Methodist Church, presided in the absence of the permanent chairman, Bishop S. L. Greene.

Officials for the conference are:

Chairman: The Rt. Rev. S. L. Greene, Senior Bishop of the AME Church

Vice-chairmen:

THE REV. JOSEPH BARTH, First Unitarian Church, Miami, Fla.

RABBI JULIAN B. FEIBELMAN, Temple Sinai, New Orleans, La.

DR. W. H. JERNAGIN, president, National Sunday School and B.T.U. Congress, Washington, D. C.

THE RT. REV. EDGAR A. LOVE, Bishop, Baltimore area of the Methodist Church.

Secretary: MRS. LULU B. WHITE, director of branches for Texas, N.A.A.C.P., Houston, Texas.

Assistant Secretary: MISS JOLEE FRITZ, director, Wesley Foundation, Greensboro, N. C.

Treasurer: MR. JOHN WESLEY DOBBS, Grand Master of Prince Hall Masons, Atlanta, Ga.

Coordinator: DR. JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI, executive director, SCEF, New Orleans.

Those attending the Richmond meeting included:

MRS. JOSEPH ALEXANDER—Board Member of the SCEF and of the Richmond Urban League, Richmond, Va.; **REV. W. B. BALL**—Pastor, Goodwill Church and Center, Richmond, Va.; The **REV. JOSEPH BARTH**—Minister, First Unitarian Church, Miami, Fla.; **MRS. SARAH PATTON BOYLE**—Writer, Charlottesville, Va.; **MR. IRVING BRANT**—Writer, Editor, Washington, D. C.; **DR. G. K. BUTTERFIELD, D.D.S.**, Wilson, N. C.; **MR. AMOS C. CLARK**—Exec. Sec'y., Richmond Civic Council, Richmond, Va.; **DR. A. L. CROMWELL, D.D.S.**, Nat'l. Officer AME Zion Church, Winston-Salem, N. C.; **MRS. A. J. E. DAVIS**, Arlington, Va.;

MR. JOHN WESLEY DOBBS—Grand Master, Prince Hall Masons of Ga., Atlanta, Ga.; **DR. JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI**—Coordinator of Conference, New Orleans, La.; **MRS. M. PAULINE DYSON**—Elementary School Teacher, Claymont, Dela.; **DR. JAMES W. EICHELBERGER**—Sec'y. of Christian Education, AME Zion Church, Chicago, Ill.;

MR. GERRON G. EISENBERG—Member, American Jewish Committee, Baltimore Chapter, Balto, Md.; The **REV. CHARLES L. EVANS**—Exec. Sec'y., Baptist Allied Bodies of Va., Richmond, Va.; **MRS. MARGARET TYNES FAIRLEY**—Pres., Council of Church Women, Charlottesville, Va.; **MR. MURRAY FRIEDMAN**—Regional Director, N. C.-Va. Office Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Richmond, Va.; **MISS JOLEE FRITZ**—Director, Wesley Foundation, Greensboro.

MR. RALPH M. GALT, New Market, Va.; **THE REV. SAMUEL L. GANDY**—Dir., Relig. Activities, Va. State College, Petersburg, Va.; **MRS. WILLIAM GEHRI**, Shepherdstown, W. Va.; **THE REV. PHILIP GRESHAM**—St. James Episcopal Church, Richmond, Va.; **DR. GORDON B. HANCOCK**—Prof. Emer., Va. Union Univ., and Pastor, Moore St. Baptist Church, Richmond, Va.

MRS. J. J. HANNIBAL—State Historian; Local Pres., W. Aux., Old North State Med. Society; Chmn., Christian Social Relations, St. Augustine Episcopal Church, Kinston, N. C.; **MRS. CHARLOTTE L. HANSON**—Psychiatric Social Worker, Newark, Dela.; **MISS RUTH B. HAWES**—Member of the Richmond Board of the NAACP, Richmond, Va.; **MRS. A. L. HECHT**—Richmond, Va.; **ATTY. OLIVER W. HILL**—Attorney at Law, Richmond, Va.; **THE REV. W. N. HUNTER**—Pastor, Jerusalem Baptist Church, Roanoke, Va.

REV. E. H. HOOKER—Pine Street Baptist Church, Covington, Va.; **DR. JAMES L. HUPP**—Prof. of Educ. and Psychology, W. Va. Wesleyan College, Buckhannon, W. Va.; **MRS. ADAH S. JAFFER**—Miami, Fla.; **THE REV. A. L. JAMES**—Pastor, First Baptist Church, Roanoke, Va.; **DR. W. H. JERNAGIN**—Pres., Nat'l. S.S. and BTU Congress, Washington, D. C.; **ELLEN G. JOHNSON**—Asst. Field Sec'y., N.E.A.-VTA, Va.

THE REV. HARVEY N. JOHNSON—Pastor, Ebenezer Baptist Church, Portsmouth, Va.; **THE REV. JAS. R. JOHNSON, JR.**—Minister, St. John AME Church, Norfolk, Va.; **MR. ROGER D. JOHNSON**—Richmond, Va.; **THE REV. R. A.**

(Continued on Page 2.)

Braden Defense Gains Support

The trial of Mrs. Anne Braden on charges of sedition is scheduled for Feb. 28 in Louisville. She and her husband, Carl, assisted a Negro couple purchase a home in a white neighborhood. He has been sentenced to 15 years in prison, and is in a state reformatory pending appeal, unable to raise $40,000 bond.

Defense attorneys are attempting to force the state to delay her trial and to present first its case concerning the bombing of the home, in which the Bradens allegedly conspired, but for which no culprit has been ascertained in court.

The **Patriot**, which was among the first to point out the importance of the Louisville events, is gratified to note that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Ave., N.Y.C. 1, has taken up the case and is soliciting funds for the defendants. Sympathetic articles have appeared in **The Nation** of Jan. 15, the **Monthly Review** of December and February, and the English publication **New Statesman and Nation** of Jan. 8.

Readers who may wish to contribute to the personal needs of the defendants should address Mrs. Anne Braden, P.O. Box 1302, Louisville, Ky.

Miss. Bigots Adopt McCarthy Tactic

Mississippi's legislators, notoriously behind the times, have paid belated compliment to the Senator from Wisconsin. In imitation of the Great Investigator, they have authorized establishment of a committee to probe—and to destroy—groups and individuals who oppose segregation.

Under the theory that the police powers of the state can be used in this regard, the Legal Educational Advisory Committee has been given the right to issue subpoenas, require production of records and papers, and "appoint special officers and agents" to conduct inquiries.

The prospect is grim. But it can be hoped that the discredit which snoopers and inquisitors are suffering nationally will be recognized in Mississippi in time to smother the project with ridicule.

In Georgia, the legislature passed a bill outlawing use of city and county funds for operation of mixed schools. This move is designed to thwart the "local option" rider which several counties approved in connection with the constitutional amendment concerning schools. The amendment gave the state the right to abolish schools to preserve segregation; the rider required the state to first get the approval of local citizens.

Houston Next Site As South Rallies

(Continued from Page 1.)

KENT—Episcopal Minister, South Hill, Va.; **THE REV. JOSEPH A. KEIPER**—Minister, First Meth. Church, DeLand, Fla.; **THE REV. JOHN H. KNIBB, JR.**—Pastor, Rocky Mount Christian Church, Rocky Mt., Va.

MRS. SENORA B. LAWSON—Richmond, Va.; **THE RT. REV EDGAR A. LOVE**—Bishop, Baltimore Area, The Meth. Church, Baltimore, Md.; **MR. CLEVELAND McLEAN**—Lillington, N. C.; **MR. CARL MAURO**—Chmn., Inter-Group Relations, Maryland Congress of Parents and Teachers, Arnold, Md.; **THE REV. RAYMOND E. OLIVER**—Minister, Calvary Christian Ch., Covington, Va.; **MRS. BERNARD P. PEEBLES**—Sec'y., Foundation for World Government, Charlottesville, Va.

DR. HARRY T. PENN, D.D.S.—Board Member, SCEF., Roanoke, Va.; **THE REV. EUGENE PICKETT**—Minister, First Unitarian Church, Richmond, Va.; **MRS. EUGENE PICKETT**—Richmond, Va.; **WM. W. PIERCE, M.D.**—Chmn., Exec. Comm., Mecklenburg County Branch, NAACP., Chase City, Va.; **DR. W. L. RANSOME**—Editor, Baptist Herald; Grand Master, Prince Hall Masons of Va., Richmond, Virginia.

MR. E. R. RICHARDSON—Richmond, Va.; **PROF. HARRY W. ROBERTS**—Prof. of Soc., Va. State College, Petersburg, Va.; **THE REV. FREDERICK G. SAMPSON**—Pastor, High St. Bapt. Church, Roanoak, Va.; **THE REV. C. C. SCOTT**—Pastor, Fifth St. Bapt. Church, Richmond, Va.; **MRS. CORNELIA A. W. SCOTT**—Children's Dir., 5th St. Bapt. Church, Richmond, Va.; **THE REV. E. E. SMITH**—Ebenezer Bapt. Church, Richmond.

THE REV. CALVIN K. STALNAKER—Pres., Ministerial Alliance, Tulsa, Okla.; **MR. WM. STEELE**—Pres., Harnett Branch NAACP, Lillington, N. C.; **MRS. WM. S. STEELE**, Lillington, N. C.; **MR. DONALD STEPHENS**—Dir., Ardencraft Assoc., Arden, Dela.; **MRS. DONALD STEPHENS**, former social worker, Arden, Del.

MRS. ANNETT DABNEY STONE—Richmond, Va.; **MRS. PHILIP B. SULLIVAN**—United Ch. Women, Arlington, Va.; **THE RT. REV. G. W. TAYLOR**—Bishop of the R. Z. T. U. A. Ch., South Hill, Va.; **THE REV. J. C. THORNTON**—Pres., Mecklenburg Co., NAACP, La Crosse, Va.; **THE REV. S. L. TOWNSEND**—Minister, Smith Memorial Meth. Ch., Lenoir, N.C.; **THE REV. T. A. WATKINS**—N. C. Minister's Alliance, Wilson.

THE REV. ROSS A. WESTON—Unitarian Church, Arlington, Va.; **DR. J. HUNDLEY WILEY**—Prof. of Sociology, Univ. of Richmond, Va.; **MRS. J. HUNDLEY WILEY**, Richmond, Va.; **THE REV. ROBERT H. WILSON**—Minister Bethel Baptist Institutional Church, Jacksonville, Fla.; **MR. J. ALEXANDER WISEMAN**—Chmn., Anne Grundel County Study Group on Supreme Court Decision, Annapolis, Md.; **VIRGINIA REESE WITHERS**, Richmond, Va. and others.

Titles and organizations are mentioned for identification only.

SCEF Board Adds 6 New Members

At the last meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., the following new members were elected to the Board:

MR. A. G. GASTON, President, Booker T. Washington Ins. Co., Birmingham.

DR. HAL G. LEWIS, Professor of Education, University of Florida, Gainesville.

MRS. H. M. GERSHON, Atlanta, Ga.

THE RT. REV. F. L. LEWIS, Bishop of the CME Church, Shreveport, Louisiana.

THE RT. REV. HERBERT BELL SHAW, Bishop of the AME Zion Church, Wilmington, North Carolina.

THE REV. JACKSON E. SMITH, minister, Fellowship Congregational Church of Tulsa, Oklahoma.

TRENDS

The nine public high schools of St. Louis, Mo., were integrated this month, and the new classmates joined ranks "as if they had been together for a hundred years'—to quote one principal.

The only unusual incident was the presence at school doors of white students who had voluntarily formed committees to greet the newcomers.

St. Louis' high school population of 14,000 is estimated at 30 per cent Negro. The integration of elementary school students—38 per cent Negro—is set for next September. The precedent of the Catholic schools, which have been harmoniously integrated for six years now, assures the long-range success of the operation. And the timid or belligerant attitudes of reluctance displayed by officials in cities where the Negro population is no greater is made to look all the more foolish and insupportable.

* * *

In Willow Grove, Pa., a subtler but just as brutal form of educational Jim Crow ended this month when a merging of school districts ended the gerrymandering that had separated white and Negro public school students for a quarter of a century. Boundaries of the previous districts had carefully followed the racial pattern of residential areas.

The teaching staff was also integrated in the new combined school.

* * *

Still further North, legislators in North Dakota repealed a 1909 statute forbidding marriages of Negroes and whites, with proponents of the action declaring the matter "a moral issue." One said: "Does one race have authority to declare itself superior to another by legislative action?" And another declared, "I don't believe we are repealing a statute, but an attitude of mind that should have been repealed long ago."

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On Being Negro: Challenging Words From A Scholar

(The following is excerpted from a Lincoln's Birthday address delivered by the noted linguist and scholar, S. I. Hayakawa, at a meeting of the Urban League of St. Louis. Its title: "The Semantics of Being Negro.")

* * *

Now the fact which emboldens me to speak to you about Negro attitudes at all today is one which may come to some of you as a surprise, but which is noticeable everywhere if you look for it anywhere in the North—and perhaps even south of the Mason and Dixon Line here and there. The fact is that the white world, once quite sure of the Negro's "proper place," is no longer sure. The prejudiced are many still, of course, but they tend on the whole to be defensive or apologetic about their prejudices.

They know that the force of official opinion is no longer on their side. Hence the kind of individual who used to "put the Negro in his place" with self-assured arrogance is getting to be relatively scarce. Meanwhile, those who, with varying degrees of insight or enlightenment, would like to see Negroes get a somewhat better deal are enormously on the increase.

Whatever the causes of the changed attitudes among whites, they are real; the result is that many white persons, either because they are no longer sure of their position or because they are coming into contact with Negroes for the first time, or for both these reasons, are often quite unsure as to how to behave toward the Negroes whom they meet.

Consequently, an unprecedented power has suddenly been put into Negro hands. More and more often, as segregation breaks down, a Negro finds himself alone among a group of whites. Since many white people are nowadays uncertain how to behave in an interracial situation, they unconsciously look to the Negro for guidance. In other words, the Negro, to a degree never possible before, can set the tone of social or business intercourse by the clues he gives, in his speech and behavior, as to how he expects to be treated.

If he acts obsequiously, as if he expected to be stepped on, he will find find plenty of white people who will gladly step on him. If he acts nervously and self-consciously, so will the white people with whom he is talking. If he is over-assertive and arrogant, they may respond with equal rudeness or cold silence. If he acts naturally, they will, in nine cases out of ten, act naturally too, and be happy and relieved that meeting a Negro was not the ordeal they thought it was going to be. But however he acts, the power to determine the atmosphere of the meeting lies with him, although he may not know it.

Now as you listen to these words, each Negro here is no doubt thinking of a dozen instances out of his own experience where "acting naturally" did no good. But I also wish to offer a counter-challenge, namely, **how do you know you acted naturally? . . .**

To remember that one is a Negro, to take pride in the fact, to accept the tragic responsibility for the fact, has been and to some extent still remains a necessary step in the long and bitter history of American race relations. But what I am suggesting tonight is the possibility that the time is almost ripe—perhaps already ripe—for the next step forward, namely, the step at which, instead of defensively asserting the equality of the Negro, you take that equality so much for granted that you can relax, and thereby help everybody else to relax. . .

How much enlightenment do you expect from white people with the kind of education on the subject of Negroes that most of them have had—education in terms of cliches of minstrel shows, bum vaudeville jokes, movie and radio and newspaper comic stereotypes and superstitious folklore? If you expect too much of them—if you expect all white people to be intelligent and sensible on the subject of Negroes—you will be running into daily disappointments. If, however, your expectations are realistic—in other words, if you expect four out of five white persons to be pretty ignorant on the subject—then you will be delighted when the score for a given day turns out to be only three out of five. . .

I want to suggest—indeed, to urge—the lifting of what I shall call the "Jim Crow of the mind." Physical Jim Crow is imposed by others—by fences, barricades, "white" and "colored" signs painted over drinking-fountains; these barriers can and are being gradually removed by law . . . But the barriers I am speaking of . . . are the barriers within one's own mind that limit one's perspective to the Negro world. . .

The way to stop being haunted by the memory of a girl who jilted you is to get a new girl. The way to stop being haunted by the fact of being a Negro, which is the essence of Jim Crow of the mind, is to develop a deeper passion about other topics. . .

First, I believe every Negro should interest himself, not superficially, but deeply, in the problems of some minority other than his own . . . Gradually, as we pursue such studies, we begin to lose the sense of a special "Negro problem," just as I have long ago lost the sense of a special "Japanese problem," and we acquire instead a sense of the profound similarity of all human problems.

My next suggestion has specifically to do with the younger generation . . . If a group of Negro students say to themselves, there's no use in studying to become an electrical engineer because we'll never get jobs, they will . . . obviously never get to be engineers. If on the other hand they say to themselves, "We shall become electrical engineers, come hell or high water," they will at least have the training to push against the job ceiling, and some of them may break through and fulfill their own prophecies.

It's a gamble, of course, and you may lose and wind up as a Pullman porter after all. But note that it is less of a gamble today than it was in 1940, and that in 1960 it will be still less of a gamble.

So we come, finally, to the greatest of social prophecies, the prophecy of political democracy, stated for Americans in the Declaration of Independence and restated by Abraham Lincoln, whose birthday we observe tonight. It is a prophecy that fulfills itself slowly, not only because it is a huge one that takes a lot of fulfilling, but also because all of us, white and Negro and all the shades in between, have faltered in our belief in it and have lacked the faith always to act upon it. The prophecy of democracy states that if we indeed treat each other as created equal and therefore act on the principles of respect for all persons regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, we shall all of us—**both the oppressors and the oppressed**—be healed of the profound emotional scars that we inherit from earlier and less just forms of human organization, and attain a full human dignity . . . This prophecy will not realize itself all at once on the sudden dawn of a Day of Jubilee. It realizes itself from day to day, from moment to moment, as we accept its assumptions, accept the responsibilities it implies, and prepare ourselves not to fight over again the battles of yesterday, but to take our places in the changed world of tomorrow.

* * *

Dr. Hayakawa's address was reprinted in its entirety in ETC., Spring, 1953. In a note to the Editor of the Patriot, he commented, "I don't know to what degree it would apply in the South." We would be very interested in receiving opinions from our readers as to "what degree" his observations are valid in the region today. (If you would like to borrow a copy of the complete address, write the SCEF, 822 Perdido St., New Orleans, La.)